1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

No rites were practised exclusively for chiefs or their families—so far as I could discover. The rites which might be performed for anyone, particularly for first-born sons, were more elaborate for chiefs than for others, simply because their wealth was greater than that of others and not because of their position as chief. Any wealthy man could celebrate any event in exactly the same way as the chief, if he had the wherewithal. This applies to the great festivals at the time of tattooing, to those connected with building feast places in honor of living individuals, to the marriage festivals, and to the elaborate memorial festivals, the purposes of which was to elevate the spirit of a deceased individual to the power and prestige of a god.

Rôle of the chief in tribal worship

While the chief played no active rôle in the tribal ritual, he had what may be called a very important passive rôle. The concept of the association of human procreating power with generation, plenty, power, and so on, in nature, was fundamental in the native philosophy. The chief, as the living head of the tribal stock, represented the embodiment of this power for his tribe. It is natural, therefore, to find that in a chant obtained at Pua Ma'u, which was used in fishing, in connection with circumcision, and for other purposes, a number of esoteric words as elements in the charm have direct reference to the genitals of the chief. Another evidence of the way in which the chief embodied the spiritual power of the tribal, ancestral stock for his people is to be noted in the use of the skulls of chiefs in connection with certain rites, such as fishing. The same thing is shown again by the violent mourning in which the whole tribe participated on the death of their chief.

ADMINISTRATION OF TRIBAL AFFAIRS

Authority of the chief

As a chief's position in his tribe was primarily dependent on his wealth and social prestige (wealth and position being causative rather than resultant), so the amount of his authority was dependent on such personal factors as his character or personality and, most of all, on the affection of his people. When an old informant was asked what people in ancient times would do if a chief were oppressive, he replied, "They went to another chief." If a chief were defeated in war, he might become a *moho-moho*, a chief without people; or his people might stand by him and go into exile with him. The independent nature of the people would have made impossible the wielding of any arbitrary authority on the part of

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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hand there was no sexual relationship between a man and his own sisters nor a woman and her own brothers.

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Now, all matters associated in any way with cohabitation, reproduction by the woman, menstruation, and so on, were regarded as contaminating in association with beings, things, or activities that were characterized as *tapu* or sacred. The logical result, therefore, of the marriage system in which the sisters of a man's wife and the wives of his brothers were also the man's wives, and the brothers of a woman's husband and the husbands of her sisters were also the woman's husbands—and of the religious system, in which all things associated with cohabitation and reproduction were contaminating—was that in all ceremonial matters the relatives that were called upon to take charge of the child were those close relatives, who could not have mutual sexual relationships—in other words, who were not spiritually contaminating to the child because of sexual contact or connection in any way with his parents or potential parents. It was the mother's brothers, who had no sexual relationship either with the mother or the father, and the father's sisters, who had no sexual relationship with the father or the mother, who had entire charge of the child in all of the numerous rites that were performed for it.

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Concomitant with the relationship and rule of *tapu*, under discussion is the institution of cross-cousin marriage, which was the most approved type, though not obligatory. A person could not marry the child of a paternal uncle or a maternal aunt, because this child was regarded as full brother or sister. On the other hand, since a man could not marry his brother-in-law nor a woman her sister-in-law, the child of a maternal uncle or paternal aunt was sure not to be a full brother or sister, but a first cousin. To the native of the Marquesas, full brother and sister marriage was too close and so prohibited. But first cousin marriage was most approved, in general, for social and economic reasons, since it kept the family together as a unit and did not require the distribution of its property.

BIRTH AND INFANCY

Birth Rites

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There were a number of *tapu* intended to protect the mother and her unborn child during the period of her pregnancy. Most of these had to do with what the woman ate. The pregnant woman had to be protected also against the influence of evil spirits. It was for this reason that her husband stayed with her in the birth house during the time preceding birth. Other regulations were made, evidently to protect the unborn child from evil influence emanating from unclean things. Garcia (14, p. 74) says:

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

To prevent leprosy, a person who had been defiled by contact with menstrual fluid had to find the woman who had thus defiled him and proceed with her, both of them being naked, into the river, the woman upstream, the man downstream. The woman must take up in her hands water that had touched her pudendum and throw it over the man who had been defiled. This would relieve him of the danger of becoming a leper (4).

Surgery

Surgeons (*tuhuna tatihi*) were professionals who devoted themselves to setting fractured limbs, replacing dislocated joints, trepanning, and so on. The profession of surgery seems to have been combined with that of healing by means of medicines (*tatihi* or *fainu*). At Atu Ona, the grandson of a famous surgeon told me that his grandfather used to repair injured skulls by inserting (whether in the scalp or in the skull itself was not definitely understood) a piece of coconut shell, the edges of which were perforated. Trepanning is mentioned by Stewart (26, pp. 24, 28). According to accounts this same surgeon at Atu Ona used to repair shattered arm and leg bones by ingrafting pieces of ironwood. Whether these accounts of grafting ironwood and coconut shell are mere stories or not, I have no way of knowing. Mr. Linton saw and photographed a trepanned skull at Hana Pa'aoa.

Exorcism

The most common method of healing sickness was by exorcising the evil spirits causing it. Such practice constituted a profession, its practitioners being known as *tau'a hiko etua* (priests who extract gods).

Père Pierre describes the ceremony called *hakuoa*, by which exorcisers were initiated and consecrated. The trunk of a banana tree was cut down, wrapped in cloth, and placed in deep water in a stream. The candidate, dressed in white, took up a position over the trunk of the banana tree. The *tau'a*, who was to initiate her, clad also in white, then showed her how to rub, using the banana trunk to illustrate, and instructed her in the manner of snatching evil spirits from the bodies of the sick.

Good, though not detailed, accounts of the manner of exorcising were obtained from the manuscripts of the Catholic missionaries. So far as I know, the practice is nowhere followed today. Accounts from the different manuscripts will be given separately, as they vary in detail.

According to Père Pierre, (4) an ointment made by mashing strong scented herbs on a reddish stone, was applied to the painful region of the body. After some rubbing, the evil spirit was extracted, the practitioner closing his hand and carrying it behind his head to allow the god to

3: Handy E-5 (1920-1921) 1930 OX6 Marquesas OX6

tion of words and their relationship to those of other Polynesian tongues quite clear to students. In the dictionary the glottal stop is indicated by an accent printed over the vowel following. (See Dordillon, pp. 5-6).

The native pronunciation of proper names has been followed as the basis of orthography throughout, in translations as well as in texts. The more important localities and tribes may be identified by reference to the maps published in Bulletin 9.[1]

In rendering the Marquesan into English I have sought to give literal translation and to preserve the native idiom as well as possible, without making the English grotesque, rather than to give a smooth English version. The tales are essentially Marquesan in character—rugged and rough. If there are any that deserve rendering into polished English, such transformed versions should appear elsewhere than in a volume that seeks to preserve the lore in its unvarnished integrity.

Like most people living in a state of nature, the Marquesans have no more sense of impropriety in describing incidents relating to sex life and the like than they have in talking about eating and drinking or any other physical habits common to all mankind. In some stories, grotesque incidents of this nature appear as embroidery of the main theme. In others they constitute main themes. Throughout the legends the sex motif is more dominant than any other. I trust no reader will be led by this to judge the ancient Marquesans to have been immoral or degraded. They are not to be judged by our standards. The Marquesans of old were doubtless as strict in their obedience to tapus and proprieties affecting sex relationships as they were to other tapus: and the respect for tapus prevailing among Polynesians in the days of their folk automony certainly exceeded that of Europeans and Americans of the present day for either law or morality. In my judgment the sex interest shown in their folk lore demonstrates the Marquesans to have been essentially healthy in mind—there is none of the morbid dwelling on erotic detail characteristic of the folk lore of certain other races more effetely civilized.

Only an understanding of the Marquesan nature in its setting can give a true basis for judgment. They were probably the most robust and exuberant of all the Polynesians, and lived in complete isolation in tropical islands of unsurpassed beauty. There was no venereal disease among them. Their philosophy of sex was that of sons and daughters of nature whose environment permitted a remarkable amount of freedom in the indulgence of an appetite which one cause or another—environment, congestion of population, religious teaching—has forced most peoples in the world to repress to a greater degree. The whole story of the Marquesans' philosophy of sex lies in the word which they most commonly employ when speaking of intercourse, namely *hoa*, which means sport, or play.

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

arrived, with presents of fruit. There were also many islanders swimming round the vessel with fruit, which they wished to dispose of: there were women amongst them; but it was signified to them, that I had resolved to admit none of their sex on board till the ship should be ready for sea, and at sun-set they swam back with the rest. 1804. May.

The next day, as soon as it was light, we were surrounded by a still greater multitude of these people. There were now a hundred females at least; and they practised all the arts of lewd expression and gesture, to gain admission on board. It was with difficulty I could get my crew to obey the orders I had given on this subject. Amongst these females were some not more than ten years of age. But youth, it seems, is here no test of innocence; these infants, as I may call them, rivalled their mothers in the wantonness of their motions and the arts of allurement.

About seven o'clock the traffic for cocoa-nuts, bread-fruit, bananas, and different articles of curiosity, began, and was continued briskly till noon. Of the three first commodities, I obtained a considerable quantity, at a cheap rate, giving only, for seven nuts, and a bunch of bananas and bread-fruit, a piece of an old iron hoop, not more than five inches long. At eight o'clock two canoes arrived, with the king in one, and his uncle in the other. They brought with them four pigs, which they wished to exchange for two of our English sheep; but finding me averse to this, the canoes took them back on their return. I offered, as a present to the king, some axes, knives, and other articles; but he would only take a striped cap, observing, as he

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

All *popoi* pounders agree with the commercial pounders in the form of the body and base. The necks range in cross section from oval to round, but the differences appear to be more or less accidental and are not correlated with other features. The range in size does not appear to have been very great, the ancient specimens seen varying in height from 7 to 8½ inches and in base diameter from 4½ to 5¾ inches. The variation is about the same in all subtypes. The subtypes are therefore based entirely upon differences in the form and decoration of the head. 4/2

The simplest form of *popoi* pounder appears to be the flat topped type called *opu*. In the plainest specimen collected (Pl. LI, *B*, 2) the neck is circular in cross section and expands only slightly at the top, the upper end being slightly convex. The curve of the bottom is unusually high. More commonly in this type the neck is more or less oval in cross section and the upper end shows a more marked expansion, its surface being flat or slightly concave. (See Pl. LI, *B*, 1.) In one specimen, which could not be obtained, the ends of the oval head projected beyond the neck in finely made flat flanges not more than one-fourth inch thick. A further modification of the *opu* type consisted in encircling the neck some distance below its upper end with a raised ring. (See Pl. LI, *B*, 3.) In view of the shape of one of the specimens of phallic form it seems probable that the idea here is phallic also. *Popoi* pounders of the *opu* type were seen only in the island of Hiva Oa, and as all the specimens were of local rock it seems possible that this was peculiar to Hiva Oa. [83]

The phallic type of pounder is much more common than the *opu* type and appears to have been the dominant form throughout the Marquesas. It may be subdivided into simple phallic representations, and the tiki headed pounders, which are clearly derived from the simple phallic form.

A single specimen (Pl. LII, *C*) may link the phallic pounders with the ringed specimens of the *opu* type. The neck of this implement is encircled a short distance below its upper end by a raised, smoothly rounded ring. The space above this ring is dome shaped and ungrooved. The whole appears to be a phallic representation.

The normal form of phallic pounder is well illustrated by the specimen shown on Plate LII, *A*. In this the neck expands smoothly to form a head of almost rectangular cross section, there being no line of demarkation between the two parts. The transverse groove is deep and the sides slope inward steeply. The ends are almost vertical and the top on either side of the groove is flat. The whole surface is treated as a series of slightly convex planes which meet in well marked angles. This angularity is most pronounced in No. 1. Most of the phallic pounders seen had this form and it is probably the prototype from which both the modern commercial and tiki headed pounders have been developed.

Two phallic pounders, shown on Plate LII, *B*, differ slightly from this normal type. The head of No. 1 is oval in cross section, the sides slope inward

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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once visited the local chief, who had a boy of eight or nine. When I arrived, the chief and his family were camping in the front yard, and the boy was sitting in the house looking both glum and triumphant. He had had a quarrel with his father a day or two before, and had tabooed the house by naming it after his head. Until he lifted the taboo, no one in the family could enter the house. The family were thus uncomfortably camping in the open until the child could be persuaded to lift the taboo and allow them to enter the house again.

The child's strongest attachments were to fathers' sisters and mothers' brothers, who were not members of the household. These were the people who stood as the child's sponsors in all ceremonies, and received a large proportion of the gifts distributed at the time of the various ceremonies marking the promotion of the child from one age status to another. There were few formal claims on the child for loyalty or assistance. He was under no obligation to the people who looked after him, and even when he grew up, his relatives made little claim upon him beyond expecting him to aid in case of a blood feud. There did not appear to be any very close emotional attachment between the child and the adults of the household. Children were respectful but indifferent toward their mothers; they seemed much more interested in the males of the household.

Social Grading

The tribal organization centered in the chief, who was both administrator and a symbol of the group. There was constant mention of the genital organs of the chief, which were given names indicating their vigor and size. The chief presided at all the great ceremonies, but had no priestly duties and never officiated at sacrifices. He did not go to war because of the extreme danger to the tribe's prestige if he were captured. He had the right to impose taboos in preparation for feasts and also to announce communal activities. For example, he set the time for the fishing parties to go out, and when the first breadfruit was ripe, he summoned the group to the harvest by having

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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Polynesian literature will recognize immediately the resemblance of this to the Tahitian *arioi;* the words are cognates. The Marquesan group, however, was not a formal secret society and was limited to individuals within this age bracket. These young people were the principal entertainers for the tribe, being called upon to sing and dance at all ceremonies and feasts, for which they received liberal rewards. From time to time the *kaioi* would go on tour, performing their dances in the villages of other friendly groups. These trips would be announced as visits to the eldest child of the local chief, but were really planned in order to show other groups what fine dancers the *kaioi* were. The dancers would be feasted and given gifts after the entertainment.

The costume of the *kaioi* was elaborate, particularly that of eldest children, who were resplendent in hair ornaments, ruffs, anklets, etc. Their bodies were dyed a bright red, their bark-cloth garments bright yellow. The young people, the girls in particular, spent hours on bleaching processes. The Marquesans had discovered a preparation which removed most of the skin color. The girls would paint themselves all over with this stuff, sit in the shade until it was completely dry, then wash it off in the stream. They emerged from this process with skins as light as those of South Europeans, but exposure to the sun brought the color back in a day or two and they would have to start bleaching all over again.

The *kaioi* dances usually concluded with sexual exhibitions reminiscent of the modern Parisian peep-show. In addition to this, the girls of the *kaioi* group were expected to entertain visiting males sexually, and they took great pride in the number of men they could satisfy in an evening. Except for taboos in the case of siblings and parents, there was complete sexual license among these young people.

Instruction for the child did not begin until late in the *kaioi* period. Of course the children picked up plenty of things informally, but there was no regular instruction in arts or crafts until the child was in his late teens. The eldest children

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

fed by their own households. All male tattooing was extraordinarily complete, the entire body, even the eyelids, being covered with intricate patterns. The chief had more elaborate hand tattooing than ordinary men and his toes were decorated, too. There were various markings for the face which were probably of tribal significance. I once saw a man who had the crown of his head beneath his hair tattooed. It was not infrequent to have the mouth tattooed right up to the gums and on the tongue—not to mention more sensitive portions of the anatomy.

The first tattooing was done in the *kaioi* period, but when a man was about thirty, particularly if he was a great warrior, he would have himself gone over again, at which time all the blank spaces in the design were filled in. Tattoo designs came out indigo blue in the young and bluish green in older people so that old men were often completely green. Not to be tattooed was to be indecently naked.

When the tattooing was completed a feast was held at which the newly tattooed boys exhibited their decorations. The girls attended this ceremony also, and at the close of the festivities put on their own dance. Instead of dancing naked as usual, they wore for this occasion full pleated skirts, which they lifted during the final song to expose their genitals. However, all sexual play was prohibited at these feasts, the girl's gesture merely indicating that the end of the *kaioi* period had come and that it was now time for the young men to choose mates and settle down.

Girls were instructed in sexual matters from an early age, trained to swing their hips and walk in a provocative way, and to assume postural attitudes which were highly charged with sex. There was extreme development of erotic technique, both sexes taking genuine pride in their erotic skills, which they discussed without reservation. It was taken for granted that almost any chance meeting between young persons of opposite sexes would, unless they happened to be siblings, result in intercourse. The girls began their dances completely attired but finished in complete nudity, with the expected results. At the close of the feasts, particularly when visitors were present, there

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

indeed seem unnecessary in Marquesan society. There was some homosexuality among males; pederasty, however, was rare, the usual form being mutual fellatio. There were occasional cases of transvestites who assumed the woman's role and sometimes entered the household as subsidiary wives, though they never became head wives and were held in considerable contempt.

The erotic skill and attractiveness of women had considerable bearing on their social status in mature life, as the most desirable girls would be chosen for head wives in important households. The women had a great deal of social mobility, since a man picked his wife on a basis of sexual attainment rather than rank, and the competition was keen, the women vying with one another in the excellence of their sexual techniques.

The idea of exclusive sexual possession was almost lacking in the Marquesas, and was certainly socially disapproved. There were a few monogamous unions based upon it, but such an arrangement doomed the household to insignificance. Apparently there was a distinction between the gang sexual activities and the private affairs previously mentioned. In the former a girl gave herself to every boy in the gang at one time or another. In the latter there was selection, and rebuff might result in suicide. Such suicides were stereotyped. Men climbed a tall cocoanut tree and dived off head first; women ate a poisonous fruit. Beautiful girls were often exceedingly cruel and fickle in their dealings with their lovers. They would lead them on and then rebuff them publicly. A standard story in the islands, which may not be true but is quite in line with native attitudes, is that of a white man who fell in love with a beautiful girl. She refused to give herself to him unless he would have his face tattooed in native fashion. He submitted to this, then she laughed at him publicly and told him he was now so hideous she would have nothing to do with him. The man lived on in the islands for years, unable to return to his own people, while the girl enjoyed her triumph. Unmarried men frequently committed suicide because of rebuffs; married men rarely if ever. Unmarried women, on the other hand, rarely committed suicide,

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Each boy keeps the sliver of bamboo over which the foreskin was stretched for the incision. Should the slip be lost or be stolen by another and be thrown into mud or a stream, early impotency will result for the original owner of the slip. [833] The slip should be carefully buried upright in dry ground in an area where many women will walk over it. Obviously, as one informant stated, the best place to "bury the bamboo" is in the churchyard where all the girls congregate several times weekly. A boy knows when a girl has been standing [831] above his bamboo, for an erection follows particularly quickly upon the sight of that girl. According to an informant, the churchyard in one of the main valleys of Nuku Hiva is filled with buried bamboo slips of the last several generations, all [797] placed without missionary knowledge.

At present, after a boy has been circumcised, he may 836 be considered to possess the social seal of approval to begin 881 heterosexual activities in /29/ earnest. It is considered to 884 be a rather unbecoming precocity for boys to have intercourse before circumcision, although many of the late adolescent males will attempt to convince the outsider that they have done so.

There appears to be a great deal of anxiety among male 152 children regarding circumcision. Adults will often threaten 861 very young male children who are badly behaved by brandishing one of the ever-present butchering knives and gesturing toward the child's genitalia with the statement: "'Ena 'e kokoti 'au 'i to'o e moa!" (I'm going to hack your penis!) This threat usually produces striking results: the child seizes his genitalia bending over forward to protect them and backs away, at the point of tears if not actually screaming. A knife which I always carried was often mentioned as "the [123] white man's knife for circumcising children," which drew me involuntarily into the situation.

Girls generally begin their heterosexual relations much 836 earlier than do the boys in the Marquesas. Their relatively earlier sexual maturation and the fact that puberty for them is not marked by an obstacle such as circumcision makes their

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described above, a great amount of effort is expended by boys 883
on catching a girl alone, often merely for a few words to make an assignation for the evening. Girls are usually aware of the boys attempts to do this and take some pains to place themselves in a position where it will be possible for them /41/ to be met and exchange a word. Often these exchanges are not noticeable being only a whispered 'i te po! (to-night!) with a misdirecting glance. In large groups, a glance or a motion conveys the desired meaning, and no words are necessary. Written notes are also passed but are considered dangerous as [212]
handwriting is often too distinctive. Such notes are often thrown into girl's rooms at night or given through a go-between who is closely related and therefore not likely to be jealous.

If it is possible a boy will attempt to intercept a girl 836
in the brush and copulate with her, while he and she are supposedly at work. Much careful intelligence work is required to plan these meetings, and the girl's collusion is usually necessary for success. A boy will try to determine where a girl will be working and whether she will be accompanied. He will select a vantage point and wait, trying to signal her when she approaches. She can withdraw from her companions with the excuse of going to the latrine and meet the boy in the brush for a short time. Attempts are made frequently to catch girls while bathing, or just after when they are still partially undressed. Marquesan males of all ages are constantly alert for 831●
a possible bush encounter. No indication goes unnoticed and neglected -- the absence of a man from a house, the sound of a wooden washing paddle in a distant stream -- all are noted and attempts made to capitalize on them.

The typical sex act in adolescence and early adulthood 833
begins with practically no foreplay. As the act usually takes place surreptitiously /42/ in the bush or in the girl's home and might possibly culminate in humiliating capture of the intruder, speed is of the essence. A few kisses and some [832]
massage of the breasts is usually all that precedes introduction of the penis. Open-mouth kissing with stimulation by the tongue, kai ma te-eo, is practiced.

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to the point of orgasm. Oral stimulation is used in a prelude 833
to the sex act and also as an interruption during the course of 836
the act. It is from the promiscuous girls that the young males with experimental orientations obtain their introduction to fellatio. In nearly all cases, men named well-known promiscuous girls as the source of their first experience with this particular sexual outlet.

Cunnilinctus is permitted by most of the promiscuous girls during the sex act. It apparently evokes a mild sensation in [832]
comparison to actual penis intercourse, but is nonetheless valued.

A wider variety of intercourse positions are used in intercourse with promiscuous girls. These will be discussed at greater length below, when adult sexual behavior is considered.

Despite the opening of a wide vista of heterosexual 839
contacts after puberty, masturbation among males apparently increases markedly in frequency during the first few years of adolescence. Males state that at this time they are constantly in a state of excitation as a result of thinking of their girls and their plans for the evening. Masturbation is resorted to quite frequently during the daytime to satisfy this sexual urge, which is considered to be so strong. Males will leave work on the pretext of urination, masturbate rapidly, and return to their jobs. Masturbation is not considered to have any deleterious physical effects; in fact, it seems to be regarded as a kind of beneficial exercise.

/50/ The constant sexual excitation of young males 831●
has already been alluded to, in our discussion of courtship. A state of semi-erection is often maintained for long periods during working hours. Sexual conversation may evoke strong [521]
images of recent experiences with erection occurring quite rapidly. As soon as turgidity is noticeable it is usually called to the attention of others present, in boisterous tones. The individual experiencing the erection usually laughs and makes some comment, often exclaiming: 'Ua pia! 'Ua to'a! -- "It's a root! It's a stud!", or 'Ua tutte hakaiki --

/50 cont./
"The chief is standing." Casual fondling of the genitalia is 831
quite frequent and considered natural. Boys will be seen wrapped in thought while watching something or engaged in a conversation, simultaneously rubbing their genitalia through their trousers. It is also common to see males reach into their shorts to fondle themselves. Whether from inside or [839]
outside of the clothing, the fondling usually is done in the following manner: the penis is placed against the stomach and stroked along the ventral surface, up and down, quite slowly.

A male is extremely proud of the size of his penis, and 826
will often try to improve its size by squeezing and pulling on 831
it while in an erect condition, a technique believed to be helpful in stimulating growth of the penis. Males are envious of each others endowments, often conducting comparative sessions at which the length of the penis was measured along [804]
the extended palm and arm, in the Marquesan fashion of [123]
indicating lengths. (I was frequently asked for my archeological tape measures, to put these contests on a more scientific and objective /51/ basis.) Quite often, while swimming or bathing nude, comparisons are made directly, always with the penis erect. If erection is not naturally forthcoming, the male will turn his back, masturbate until turgidity appears maximal, and then make his measurement.

At least three named types of penii were recognized by 192
the Marquesans, two of which are still known and used today 826
to refer to particular varieties. The typological division is 831
based on the shape and size of the glans penis:

a. hua'i'ama — Wide flat glans, with a blunt terminus (like a candle nut)

b. moa'iahota — Narrow glans with a more circular or oval section and a pointed terminus, tapering gradually (like a sting ray barb)

c. hapa potea — Could not be defined by informants. Translation indicates that the term makes an analogy between the glans and the shape of the mollusc turbo argyrostoma (hapa = end, potea = T.

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argyrostoma). Therefore, the glans characteristic of this type was probably quite large, circular in section, possessing a blunt terminus and possibly a slightly everted urethral meatus.

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Marquesan males are quite careful to conceal their genitals in the presence of strange Europeans. It would thus be easy for a short-term observer to be completely misled and attribute intense modesty to them. /52/ Such modesty would be completely erroneous, however. Complete nudity is quite common among male groups, especially in fishing parties or in bathing groups, where no attempts are made to conceal the genitals. In such groups, there is a continual undercurrent of sexual horseplay and joking involving the qualities of the genitalia of those present. Some of this verges on the homosexual as will be discussed below. Males will also construct female torsos in the wet sand at the waters edge, and copulate with them briefly, or pile and rub wet sand gently around the penis while seated at the waters edge or in the shallows. There is much concealed curiosity among Marquesans over the genital anatomy of Europeans, particularly regarding the foreskin and results of circumcision in general, as well as for the inevitable comparisons of size.

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In adolescence, homosexuality among males appears with sharply increased frequency. An explanation of the term "homosexual" in Marquesan terms is necessary before proceeding further. Although we will discuss under this general rubric all the behavior that our society would label as homosexual, the Marquesans divide their behavioral continuum differently. Acts of homosexuality are accepted as a substitute for heterosexual relations in time of scarcity of women and as especially characteristic of adolescent behavior. On the other hand, habitual homosexuality, in which female company is eschewed almost entirely and male lovers are taken, earns the appelation of mahu -- deviate. Such conduct in the male is usually associated with transvestitism to varying degrees, assumption of female economic roles and

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Throughout adolescence and youth, the Marquesans participate to a greater or lesser extent in the behavior patterns and traits described above, depending on the features of their individual environments. There is a constant change in utilization of these practices, as features of the /60/ external environment change, resulting in a condition in which most individuals have run the entire gamut of sexual relations (with relative emphasis differing markedly), by the time that physiological maturity has been attained.

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Normal heterosexual relationships during this period consist of a series of courtships of various lengths, culminating in sexual intercourse. Both sexes develop and change these transient affections quite frequently. In some instances, deeper attachments develop, often with parental sanction for overt cohabitation. During and between courtships, regardless of degree of attachment, the male reserves the right to have sexual relations with anyone he wishes. Quite frequently a male uses several girls in rotation during the course of a few weeks, still retaining a stronger attachment to one. Homosexual practices are fleeting and impromtu, being entered into to fit immediate needs and nothing more, as are the rare occurrences of bestiality.

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As opposed to the normal girl, the promiscuous girl depends heavily on her sexual propensities to help her in the world, withdrawing from normal family life to lead an untrammeled existence, quite dependent, however, upon the bounty of her lovers and her friends. Promiscuous girls form a buffer between the community and foreign intruders, provide a source of education to the relatively uninitiated male, while serving as a means of gratification and entertainment for the male community at large.

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/61/ The relatively rare deviants, as defined by the Marquesans, also have an established role which they can play in the community.

/70 cont./
lapsed into another period of depression. Such behavior usually 837
results in infuriating the husband, and the wife may receive [833]
a beating, followed by forced sexual intercourse. This practice is regarded as being the best remedy for sexual jealousy, and usually speeds the re-establishment of normal relations for a time.

Sex in Later Life

Reasonably frequent sexual relations are carried on by 833 887
individuals in the sixties and seventies. Males of this age are often capable of normal copulation, with greatly reduced frequency. Fellatio and /71/ cunnilinctus are practiced. Elderly men often seek out younger women as sexual partners, as well as engaging in sexual relations with their mates.

Elderly women often indulge in brief liaisons with much younger males who cannot find sexual partners in their own age group. A woman of 65 spent the night with a copra schooner sailor about 35 years of age and was not subjected to any censure whatsoever. Another elderly woman, who had been a well-known promiscuous girl in her youth, was frequently a sexual partner for younger males, on occasion soliciting their attentions.

Sex in Humour

Marquesans place great emphasis on one's ability to in- 521 522
dulge in light, rapid-fire banter, using witticisms which span a 831 ●
range from subtle puns and esoteric allusions of a nature understood by only one or a few of the onlookers, to what in our society would be termed the more coarse kinds of humour. Much Marquesan humour is sexual or at least related to a sexual topic.

In mixed company, under normal circumstances, care is taken to refrain from using the tapu expressions which have been discussed previously, referring to the male and female genitalia or the sex act. In such cases, the more subtle expressions and figures of speech are used; and often the conversation can be completely misunderstood. New circumlocutions

/71 cont./ 521
and esoteric terms for sexual matters are constantly being pro- 522
duced, mainly by the unmarried males, it would appear. 831
These /72/ are employed with the anticipation that the un-
initiated listeners will be completely deluded.

Some examples of esoteric sexual terms have already 192
been given (see the list of synonyms for the verb "to copulate," 195
p. 47). The development of a few others will be presented 831
here. The Kendal Oil Co. commercial, given nightly over
Radio Tahiti, provided the material for a new term. The [177]
word "Kendal" came to be used as a verb, "to ejaculate,"
and nominalized to mean "semen."

In another case, the adolescents of Hatiheu were swim-
ming off the dock in that bay. The boys discovered that sev-
eral of the girls, swimming in skirts, wore no undergarments,
and proceeded to dive below the girls who were treading
water, and look up their dresses for a glimpse of their genitals.
The girls quickly noticed the submarine observers and demanded
to know what they were looking for. A boy quickly responded
that they were searching for puta'a ta'a (Murex ramosus) shells.
From then on, the Hatiheu esotericism for vulva was puta'a ta'a.

Among company of a single sex, the restraints on con- 521
versation are relaxed, with tapu expressions being used, except 831
in the cases where individuals standing in certain respect re- [602]
lations to the speaker, such as a brother-in-law, or father, [606]
are present. In such situations, those sharing respect relation-
ships will refrain from conversation of a baldly sexual nature.

"Obscenity" in the Marquesan tongue has changed con- 831
siderably over the years, as a result of outside contact, both 179
with other Polynesians /73/ and with Europeans. During the
first three decades of this century, the aboriginal obscenities
were still in use. These were most often directed at an in- [578]
dividual's pride in status and personal cleanliness, rather than
referring to sexual matters.

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Aboriginal Obscenities

'u moeka	sleeping mat (regarded as a particularly vicious expression, as the sleeping mat was the lowest thing in a house, being walked on by everyone)
kio'e pe	"rotten or decayed rat"
'upoko pe	"rotten or decayed head" (the head was the seat of supernatural power) [826]
'o'o pe	"rotten or decayed brain"
to roro!	"Your brain!"

At present, such terms absolutely fail to evoke any reaction among younger Marquesans and even older individuals [178] do not regard them as seriously as they did 20 years ago. The 192 coarse language of the modern Marquesas, more concerned with 177 sexual matters, has assumed a certain European, if not down- 831 right Anglo-Saxon flavor. The verb "to copulate" -- titoi -- is used as in an exclamatory fashion, much the same way as our four-letter equivalent. It is not used adjectivally or nominally as in English, however. The same verb, titoi, is also used in its Tahitian meaning -- to draw back the foreskin -- with an appropriate hand motion. The Marquesan synonym pauheke (or paupauheke -- to masturbate) is /74/ also employed in the same fashion. All of the above are used as expressions of [578] annoyance and are regarded as grave insults when uttered in the context of an argument. Such terms are used frequently in non-mixed company, in jest, however, without provoking any wrath.

Marquesan obscenity also reflects the heavy concentra- 192 tion on genital hygiene so characteristic of the culture. Ap- 831 pellations of pi'au'ota (your stinking foreskin), hoki i te mimi [181] (smells like urine); or pi'au i te puta keo (stinking anus) are common and considered to be quite grave.

There is a great deal of Marquesan folklore about the 186 515 personal hygiene of the French, and it is suspected, most other 649 white ethnic groups. [538]

/74 cont./ 186 515 648 [154]
white ethnic groups. This is a culture contact phenomonon, arising from the need of the natives to act out their animosity toward the European intruders. As few white visitors ever learn more than a few words of the native language, it is quite safe for the natives to refer to white visitors by terms such as those listed above. I have seen Marquesans return the greetings of French and American tourists with such appellations, displaying perfect poker faces all the while. Much is made of "lax" European bathing habits; to escape disapprobation, one must bathe as frequently and as thoroughly as the Marquesans and be extremely careful of perspiration odor.

Skin eruptions are very common among the Marquesans, providing a further source for terms of insult. Some of the most common are: 164 192 578

/75/ puna — an eruption characterized by itching and peeling of the skin, often in the groin, but found on the rest of the body as well (also known as Sekaseka or senga senga - Samoan?)

tane' — an eruption characterized by slight depigmentation, arising in spots and spreading over large areas

mama — an eruption characterized by numerous small round hard blisters developing on the lower legs and ankles, resembling in their appearance and order the chitons (mama) which appear on the rocks along the shore. [136]

All these diseases are considered quite contagious (rere), especially as a result of sexual intercourse. References are commonly made to a newly developed skin condition as having come from a particular sexual episode. Those whose mates or lovers are afflicted with any of these diseases are subjected to severe ridicule at times, as the diseases, although common, are thought to be somewhat distasteful. 164 518 [833] [763]

Conspicuously absent in the Marquesan obscene vocabulary are references to female relatives of the addressed. Having 192 602 831

/75 cont./ Having 192 602 831 [177]
been exposed to a certain amount of American obscenity, as a result of visits of American ships, both private and military, a number of Marquesans inquired as to the meaning of several of our more common expressions of this type. When these had been explained, they expressed considerable shock, ... almost verging on disbelief. One elderly person exclaimed that he now knew why the sailors of the U. S. S. Arkansas, which visited the /76/ islands in the '20's, had started to fight when one sailor used a term of this type in referring to another.

Venereal Disease

Venereal diseases are known among the Marquesans by 164
the generic name of mate'upu -- street sickness -- alluding to the fact that one "runs loose in the street" to contract the disease. (The term definitely appears to be a result of culture contact.)

Several types of diseases are distinguished on the basis of the syndrome manifested.

mimi hati	"broken urine" - gonorrhea	164
hao'ehi	"white man's discharge" - probably lympho granuloma inquinale. Described as characterized by running sores around the genitalia, in the mouth. Epilation of the pubis and loss of finger and toe nails also occur if disease is not checked.	192
pa'atita	"many ripe (things)" - probably syphilis, in primary stage, characterized by chancre on mouth and within.	

Syphilis is a relatively rare phenomenon in the 164
Marquesas, by far the most common diseases being gonorrhea and lympho. During the entire period of field work in the Marquesas, only two individuals with the characteristic saddle-bridge nose of the advanced syphilitic were seen. One of these admitted to having contracted a venereal disease

/91 cont./ sturdy physique which usually involves larger breasts; nevertheless, breasts are of relatively small importance when compared with genital qualities. 114 826 832

There is little data from earlier periods concerning the prevalence of masturbation and other forms of sexual play among children. Linton /92/ notes that mutual masturbation was practiced, labeling it "homosexuality" (1938, p. 168), which it is not for the culture in question. Linton also states that sexual play was practiced from earliest ages, but is not specific as to the practices involved. 175 864 [114] [838]

Puberty

The behaviors and attitudes surrounding cleanliness and especially genital cleanliness that characterize the Marquesan culture today appear to have their roots in the aboriginal past. Marquesan legends (Handy 1928) make frequent reference to the constant bathing practiced, especially by younger individuals. Numerous references are also available to native cosmetics, flower wreaths, and herbal packages which were used to reduce body odor (Handy 1923, pp. 289-298, Fr. S. Delmas Ms in Taiohae Mission Library). While the present emphasis on cleanliness is therefore an aboriginal survival, the use of native cosmetics and deodorants has diminished considerably in the face of the easily available European cosmetics. Missionary efforts were devoted to stamping out the use of 'eka or turmeric, which was believed by the missionaries to be inextricably associated with sexuality in the native eyes. As a consequence, it is never seen in use at present, except in food, where it is used as a flavoring. 55 173 [183] [302] 302 177 [182] [797] [831] [263]

Circumcision as it is currently practiced in the Marquesas bears considerable resemblance to the aboriginal practices. In the past as today, groups of boys were circumcised together; the technique of the operation has remained unchanged, and the modern native medical /93/ practices used to promote healing are also recorded for the aboriginal period (Handy, pp. 94-5). However, the entire complex of ceremonialism and religious restrictions surrounding this event involving seclusion, dietary restriction, and various other religious 182 304 881 182

/102 cont./ 182 74 883 571

skills, both profane and religious, which had to be learned at one time or another during youth, it is difficult to believe that a large segment of the young population could be allowed to spend a period of several years in non-productive, unsupervised pursuit of pleasure. I believe that Linton and Handy, in discussing the ka'ioi, were describing a culture [114] contact phenomenon arising in the disintegration of the society; due partially to the complete lack of direction and goals in the society, as well as to the presence of Europeans [648] who continanced and encouraged in youths the kind of loose behavior described for the ka'ioi groups. With the main function of the ka'ioi (as warriors) removed, and mission efforts [797] being devoted to stamping out the practice of tattooing (one [304] of the bonds which held the group together), it is little wonder that the ka'ioi presented a group of aimless pleasure-seekers to the ethnologists of the early 1900's.

There are no data on the patterns of public courtship 584 followed in the aboriginal period, but it appears that the 834 present coyness and restraint exhibited in the presence of others 182 was probably also an aboriginal trait, as it occurs in other areas of Polynesia (as will be discussed below), and /103/ [171] is therefore not an atypical phenomenon for Polynesia.

The adolescent pattern of sexual relationships presents 883 some interesting evidence of the effects of culture change. 178 In the aboriginal period, adolescent sexual relations occurred in much the same contexts as they do at present, with two major exceptions: public intercourse, sanctioned on some [833] occasions in the past, is no longer practiced, and the [342] formalized girls and boys dormitories no longer exist. Otherwise, trysts and chance meetings are the scene for much sexual activity as in former times.

Perhaps the most interesting changes are those which 571 produced the dichotomization of the adolescent and adult 831 female population into "normal" and "promiscuous" groups. 178 In conjunction with this division, there is a trend among younger males to regard some of the behavior traits characteristic of the promiscuous girls and adults of the population -- fellatio-cunnilinctus, the use of varying positions of sexual

/103 cont./

intercourse and nudity in the sex act -- as being somewhat unseemly, indicating that the spread of the new morality has been considerable in the male section of the population as well as the female. It is certain that there existed, in former times, a number of girls who were more sexually accessible than the average Marquesan girl. This fact is borne out by the statements of the historical sources noted above, indicating that some women were evidently assigned to white visitors for their sexual use, while others remained aloof. There does not seem to have ever been a recognizable group of girls in aboriginal times who performed the functions of the present /104/ vehine mako group. The unmarried girls who made up the aboriginal upokoehu group, counterpart of the male ka'ioi, were not considered promiscuous by the standards of the culture and bore no stigma for their conduct in what was a perfectly natural phase of the life cycle.

It appears that the present dichotomy was produced by the gradual penetration of Christian values and norms into the severely damaged fabric of the native culture by the missionaries who have worked in the Marquesas for some 120 years. The same introduced value system that has produced the avoidance of nudity in modern adolescents is apparently also responsible for the existence of the standards by which the female population is categorized, and a tension now exists between the surviving aboriginal practices appropriate for adolescents and the Christian moral standards more recently grafted onto the culture. I believe that in the modern promiscuous girls, the last remnants of the upokoehu groups of former times can be seen, albeit in a considerably lowered social status. That such a group exists at all is a tribute to their very real value for the society of protecting the other girls from the aggressions of strangers.

If one examines the sexual behavior of the promiscuous girls, it will be seen that it accords in general with the very sparse information recorded on this topic. Thus, serial intercourse was common (Handy, Linton), nudity was also preferred (Linton) and some signs of emotion were displayed at the point of orgasm (Linton, Handy). The girls were

/104 cont./
not interested in establishing permanent unions and had numerous suitors concurrently (Handy). /105/ There are, to be sure, a number of sexual practices current among girls of this category (and often prevalent in modern Marquesan culture in general) which appear to have been of European introduction. Among these are the so-called "wet kiss" and possibly Western type kissing in general, and a large number of idiosyncratic practices acquired through association with particular individuals. However, these last are relatively superficial, and do not greatly alter the complex of behavioral traits presented by the promiscuous girls. Thus, there are strong resemblances seen between the behavior pattern manifested by modern married adults and those in the category of promiscuous girls, and the picture of aboriginal Marquesan sexual behavior as reported in historical and ethnographic sources, meagre as these are.

There are further sexual behavior traits which have been reported for the Marquesas which are of a less certain nature and bear discussion at this point. Most outstanding of these is Linton's claim that the female was dominant in the sex act, directing the male to employ certain techniques which had as their goal her own excitation, and only allowing penis intercourse when she was excited to a high pitch (Linton 1938, p. 173). Linton claimed that orgasm was impossible for Marquesan females, without prolonged stimulation, and cited inorgasmic play in youth as a possible cause for the need for such stimulation. These claims are linked with Linton's belief that Marquesan women held effective power over the male contingent by the distribution of sexual favors (p. 158), and that the woman was valued primarily as a sexual object, making little or no contribution to the household except that /106/ of supplying sexual gratification for the husbands.

There is no evidence in the literature, both historical and ethnographic, to support the claims of female superiority in Marquesan culture. On the contrary, women made extensive economic contributions in the aboriginal past as they do today, and there is little reason to believe that the

/114 cont./

in the eyes of their subjects, and soon the only leadership came from the French military and the missionaries. Christianity was literally forced upon the culture, as missionary efforts were backed up by military forces. The church acquired large land holdings, thus acquiring a powerful economic weapon for use against recalcitrants, and arbitrarily passed laws, as representative of the French government forbidding native dress, tattoo, religion, music, dancing and cosmetics. With the social organization already broken down, the population depleted by the epidemics of the late nineteenth century, and the culture robbed of vitality by missionary fiats, it was not long before complete demoralization set in and aboriginal Marquesan culture ceased to exist.

In view of the almost complete obliteration of native political organization, art, large areas of subsistence technology, and religion, it is not surprising that changes have also occurred in native sexual behavior. The radical changes in values and attitudes due to Christianization, the disappearance of many vital roles in the social system, and marked economic changes could not have been expected to leave this area of behavior unscathed. What is most surprising, however, is not that the sexual behavior changed, but that it changed so little! The tremendous amount of continuity in this area of behavior never ceased to amaze me, especially when compared to the all-encompassing changes in other /115/ aspects of the culture. The reason for the relatively good preservation of aboriginal sexual behavior is to be found in the bitterness and hostility of the native population, vis-a-vis the French administration and in particular the French missionaries. There are relatively few ways open to the Marquesan to express his hostility toward those who wield power over him, and gain some feeling of gratification. One method is through the use of the native language as a weapon, as discussed above. The unsuspecting white has no defense against a language he does not understand. This tactic cannot be used on the missionaries, however, as the use of the native language is mandatory for them. Therefore, some other technique must be adapted and it is in this

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context that sex is of great value. Of all the things most troublesome to the missionary, sexual misdeeds are near the top of the list; therefore, there is no better way to act out one's aggression than to continually transgress the rules laid down by the overlords. The transgressions are seldom brought to the attention of the missionary, by virtue of the fact that Marquesans do not consider truth in the confessional to be necessary, and a solid native front opposes missionary efforts to learn details of any misdeeds.

An excellent example of the effectiveness of this information blocking is the continual male invasion of the dormitories of the convent school in Hiva Oa, every night. [871] So far as could be determined, this has never come to the attention of the school authorities within the memory of anyone living, which is almost incredible when one considers the "gold-fish bowl" quality of life in any Marquesan community.

/116/ The strong antagonism to the mission can be 154
seen in the continual moral testing of these individuals carried 182
on by the native population. Constant probing for weak- 797
nesses in sexual mores, most often by women, if not success- 831
ful, results in a proliferation of fantasy imputing all sorts of sexual misconduct to the missionary involved. The slightest deviation by a missionary from an impossible set of moral standards set up by the natives is occasion for tremendous gossip and speculation about the state of the individual's moral decay. The relatively few actual faux pas committed by missionaries are remembered in almost clinical detail.

Thus, it appears that native sexual behavior has been 182
relatively well-preserved over the tragic period since the 831
French occupation at least, functioning as a form of passive resistance directed mainly at the mission, which [797] has played such a large role in the destruction of the native culture, a role the importance of which has by no means escaped the Marquesans of today. Despite the disappearance of the native religious, social and economic forms which gave much of this behavior meaning and integration in the

/116 cont./
social structure, the norms continue to exist as they fulfill a vital function for the society -- that of resistance against an overwhelming foe. They offer one of the few opportunities left to this remnant of a society to express in a reasonably effective form the accumulated hatred of 120 years of misery.

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Conclusions

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The above data possess considerable implications for anthropology and other related disciplines, as well as for students of Polynesia. /117/ First, the study has served to alter and revise the perspective with which Marquesan sexual behavior has been viewed for 20 years.

The quantity of the data and the detail in which it was recorded provide a good foundation for an evaluation of previous ethnographic reports and historical sources, and throw considerable light on aboriginal sexual behavior. Throughout the actual collection of the data and the subsequent comparative studies, it was apparent that Linton's widely quoted report on Marquesan sexual behavior was often considerably at variance with historical data, reports of other ethnographers and the data of the present study. Certain statements in Linton's report which could be checked with actual records (i.e., population, death/birth and male/female ratios) were completely unsubstantiated. It should be noted that Linton's article contains no bibliographic references for the objective data which he purports to include -- thus making an evaluation even more difficult. Other statements, which were not quantitative but still could be checked against other sources (i.e., nursing of children, child feeding, economic role of women, etc.), appeared to be equally groundless. Finally, in the admittedly more subjective areas of interpretation, the conclusions reached by Linton about the status and role of women in Marquesan society are so much at variance with the basic data, and depend so much on the unsubstantiated claims discussed previously that there is little reason to regard them as valid any longer.

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behavior which has been under the most severe attack by mission and colonial government alike, there is a remarkable carry over of many behavioral traits which are of such a minor order that they might well have been expected to disappear along with so much of the rest of the culture. The survival of these traits is particularly unusual in view of the fact that the social system which gave them significance no longer exists, yet the traits live on.

It is suggested that aboriginal forms of sexual behavior 182 have become a symbol of resistance for the Marquesans, and 831 that it is this which has contributed to their unusual longevity when compared with the rest of the native culture. Like the native language which is used as a weapon, the sexual habits of the Marquesans are a means of inflicting psychological damage on the white intruders, and are especially aimed at the vulnerable figure of the missionary, who is the symbol of authority in most localities and against whom resentment is often overt.

Thus, Marquesan sexuality today is seen to be a rather unusual complex of aboriginal survivals with some recent additions resulting from acculturation, preserved in its present form by virtue of the fact that /120/ it serves a function for which it was not originally destined -- that of expressing antagonism toward colonial-missionary rule in one of the only ways presently permissible.

Changes are occurring now, especially among those 178 presently entering adolescence, and these changes appear 831 to be occurring at a more rapid rate than has been seen to the present. Whether or not this is a result of increased efforts at social control on the part of the missionaries or to increased integration into the outside world will require additional studies at future dates to trace the changes whose first evidence has been noted here.